On Walapai /-k/ and /-m/ 

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This paper is a discussion of a list of items containing /-k/ and /-m/ which seem to have no relationship to switch reference of the verb subject. Sentences with a sentence-final /-m/ were rather rare in my extensive corpus, but it was possible to find a few. It was also found that various combinations of /-k/ and /-m/ contrast.

An /-m/ occurs in nominalized verb forms where it cannot have any switch reference meaning.

kwē-mā-č-m-vi-č-ô  
(something-eat-pl.=action-m-do-pl.=action-place=where)

The /-m/ is an ablative with and is followed by /wi/, do, have. The meaning is place where having or doing with eating. This shows that the /-m/ is a marker of accompanying action. Consider also the following example.

hmān-č kwē-k-mā-v ni-mā-m táy-č-k-vi # A child grows when it eats food.
(child-the-nom. something-agent=characteristic-eat-dem. subord.-eat-m grow=big-get-k-do)

In the above sentence, it is clear that the child is doing both the eating and growing, despite the fact that eat has an /-m/ suffix. Perhaps a more literal translation would be to use an ablative, e.g. With/By eating food, a child grows.

yatū-v vá-nā-yu-m kwē-k-mūn vi-č-ô kwāl-cyî-m-yu-č # I like to drink cold pop when I am real thirsty.
(thirsty-dem. arrive-want-(be)come-m thing-agent=character.-cold intense-drink-tens. like-nonpast-m-be-pl.=action)

Since the speaker is the subject of both clauses, the /-m/ does not indicate a change of subject, but it does give the background, setting, or time frame for the main clause.

Though a double occurrence is not very common, it does occur and means always, constantly, on every appropriate occasion, characteristically.

nā-č tū hé kwē má-m má-m vi-č-wi # I always eat there.
(1-nom. very there thing eat-m eat-m do-pl.=action-do)

This double use of /-m/ contrasts with the use of /-k/ plus /-m/. The /-k/ plus /-m/ use is a mark of iterative action and means continue/keep on doing, do frequently/from time to time, do often/on several occasions.
ná-č ví-k ví-m wí-č-wi # I do it often/frequently.
    I have been doing it from time to time.
(l-nom. do-k do-m do-pl.=action-do)

    This can also be seen in the following.
    ná-č či-kič-m-ti ví-č-wi # I usually cut it.
(l-nom. caus.=cut-m-imperf. do-pl.=action-do)

    ná-č či-kič-ti-k-yu # I am cutting it.
(l-nom. caus.=cut-imperf.-k-be)

    The first sentence above means I usually/regularly cut it, whereas the
    second means I am in the midst/process of cutting it.

    If the meaning is repeatedly, over and over, many times, two or more
    occurrences of /-k/ obtain.
    ni-cá-č wí-k wí-k wí-wi # He did it over and over and over.
(dem,-3-nom. do-k do-k do-do)

    Compare these with the following sentences.
    hmáń-a-č ni-mí-m máń-im-m-yú-č # Whenever the baby cries, I always get
    up.
    (child-the-nom. subord.-cry-m arise-m-m-be-pl.=action)

    hmáń-a-č ni-mí-m máń-ik # When the baby cries, I get up.
    (child-the-nom. subord.-cry-m arise-k)

    The /-m/ on both occurrences of /ni-mí-m/ is easily seen to indicate a
    different subject from the other verb in the sentence, but this /-m/ also
    establishes the background or time referent for the other verb in the main
    clause. The /-k/ on /máń-ik/ indicates what is stated, i.e., getting up, does
    happen; but the two occurrences of /-m/ emphasize the regularity and repeat-
    edness of the getting up.

    The use of /-k/ with first-person verbs seems to be an optional feature
    and/or dialect difference and doesn’t seem to make a difference in meaning,
    especially for young people. e.g., /kwé máńi/ or /kwé máńi/, I am eating.
    However, if a /-k/ follows an /-í/, there is a difference; and the meaning
    of the form with /-k/ is somewhat, a little, sort of, getting (to be),
    becoming. This difference occurs in other persons also.
    a-ná-í-yu
    I like it.
    (l-be=good/like-stative-be)

    a-hán-í-k-yu
    I like it a little/somewhat.
    I am getting to like it.
    (l-be=good/like-become-k-be)
kwë ţáy-k-yu # It is foggy.
(thing fog-k-be)

kwë ţáy-k-č-k-yu # It is getting foggy.
(thing fog-k-become-k-be)

The two occurrences of /-k/ would seem to indicate that /-č/ is an independent verb stem; however, it does not occur with a primary stress but with a tertiary, which indicates it is a suffix. If /-č/ were /-č/, it would be homonymous with /č/, be not; but /-č/ is an applicative-benefactive (to, for) or a change-of-state (get, become) suffix. This can only make one question whether forms ending in /-k/ and /-m/ are really independent verbs and/or clauses, as various people have suggested.

A final /-m/ can indicate that some sort of consequences or results are expected, required, or necessary.

šlo-c wí-l yá-č-m-a-m # The horses went down into the canyon.
(horse-nom. rock=canyon-into go-pl.=actor-tns.-m)

kúl-a-č wí yá-l yůr-m # The rabbit went in under there.
(rabbit-the-nom. rock this-into enter-m)

ni-kwáy vi-táy ni-wí-č-o-č páy-a qáč-m # Their winter clothes are all too small.
(subord.=clothes intense-big=heavy subord.=have-pl.=agent-that-nom. all-the be=small-m)

In the above sentences, the speaker expects the hearer to draw certain conclusions from the conditions stated. The final /-m/ is much like a final and in English spoken with a level, sustained intonation. In the first sentence, the implication is that it will be a lot of trouble to find the horses that have wandered down into the canyon. In the second sentence, the hearer is expected to do something about getting the rabbit out of the hole. In the third, it is implied that the children will have to have new winter clothes since the old ones are too small.

A final /-k/ can add certainty or specificity.

jú-č kwë má-hi-k-o # I am going to eat.
(1-nom. thing eat-fut.-k-tns.)

jú-č kwë má-hi-wi # I am going to eat X.
(1-nom. thing eat-fut.-do)

The first sentence above focuses on the eating; the speaker vouches for the occurrence. In English, we can accomplish much the same meaning by stressing the first item in the verb phrase, as in "I AM going to eat." In the second sentence, the focus is on the item being eaten—the speaker is referring to eating a specific item.
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Preface

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1979 Hokan Languages Workshop was not able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume. All the papers in this volume were presented in an earlier version at the 1979 workshop. The papers are arranged in the order that they appeared on the program at the workshop.

The participants of the 1979 Hokan Languages Workshop gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Lynn Gordon, Heather K. Hardy, and others in the Department of Linguistics at the University of California at Los Angeles, which made the workshop run so smoothly and enjoyably.

Copies of the 1977 and 1978 workshop proceedings are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. The volumes for the 1975 and 1976 workshops, which appeared in the SIU-C series University Museum Studies, are now out of print, but copies may be obtained in microfiche or hard-bound volumes from ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1611 N. Kent St., Arlington, VA 22209.

The 1980 Hokan Languages Workshop will meet jointly with the Penutian Language Conference at the University of California, Berkeley, June 30 to July 3, 1980. The proceedings of the 1980 workshop will appear in Occasional Papers On Linguistics in late 1980 or early 1981. Copies may be ordered from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, June 1980
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